

MCGILL DAILY

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by amin kassam

Toffler a future shock at McGill

Alvin Toffler, who calls himself a "social futurist," will be speaking at McGill October 1.

Toffler made himself a public reputation on the basis of the best-seller *Future Shock*.

He believes that "a strange new society is erupting in our midst" and that it is necessary for the public to be made aware of it.

He dramatizes the change by pointing out that the time gap between the introduction of an appliance and its peak production has been "radically reduced".

It took 34 years for appliances produced before 1920 to reach "peak production" while the span was only eight years for those produced between 1939 and 1959, he says quoting a Stanford Research Institute study.

Toffler attributes the change to some undefined element in society that has quickened the pace of life.

He pinpoints New York, Tokyo and London as examples of the kind of future society he envisages. The main element in this society, he says lucidly, is that people "live faster".

The faster pace of life manifests itself in several ways. For example, it is a question of changing relationships or "transience" which is defined as "the rate at which our relationships — with things, places, people and information — turn over."

Toffler's analysis is full of similar insights. He points out that, today, products are made

for short-term use. "In fact, the home is a large processing machine through which objects flow at an ever-faster tempo."

But he declines to speculate on why perishable products abound in this society. The only solution he can come up with is to advise people not to buy those products.

Similarly, he comments on the fact that companies are highly mobile thus causing continuous relocation of personnel. This breeds "a loss of commitment". People have no roots and, therefore, their involvement in community life is minimal.

Toffler's solution to the problem is "a search for totally new ways to anchor oneself". He suggests that ritual can be "an important change buffer".

"The sending of Christmas cards, for example, is an annual ritual that not only represents continuity in its own right but also helps individuals prolong all-too-temporary friendships."

The factors which necessitate the constant movement of companies from site to site are ignored.

"Future shock", or "the disease of change" as he defines it, also affects personal relationships. "It's too difficult keeping in touch when jobs, status, locations change."

Relationships seem to be dependent solely on the rate of change in the society. They are not determined by the social or political structure of the community.

As a society moves into the

Continued on page 6

by arnold bennett

Trudeau provokes Lapalme drivers

Prime Minister Trudeau has once again shown his indifference to the Quebec labor movement in a statement directed to the Conseil des Syndicats Nationaux (CSN) concerning the 19-month-old Lapalme strike.

"You can overthrow the government," Trudeau said in a CBC interview Monday night. "You can march until the end of the world. You can become a separatist or you can join the FLQ. It will not change the government's policy."

The CSN has been attempting to bring about a new series of negotiations between the Lapalme drivers and the federal government.

Two years ago this month, the federal government announced that the exclusive contract of the G. Lapalme Co. to pick up and deliver mail in the Montreal area would not be renewed when it expired on April 1, 1970.

The government announced, too, that only 200 of the 456 Lapalme drivers would be rehired under a new government-operated system and then only if they abandoned their union, the Postal Employees Branch of the Confederation of National Trade Unions, the CSN, and joined the Canadian Union of Postal Employees.

The Lapalme drivers voted to accept only if all 456 were kept on and only if the CSN continued to bargain for them. The government's reply was a flat rejection.

The Lapalme drivers have been out of work now for a year and a half, their only income is a frugal allotment from the CSN which has spent over \$1,000,000 backing them up.

Every morning they meet at the Paul Sauve Arena and then travel to Ottawa to set up their pickets on Parliament Hill, where they are now a familiar sight, and where they have been confronted day after day by the government's indifference to their plight.

CSN President Marcel Pepin called the government's refusal to renew negotiations "an unprecedented slap in the CSN's face".

Another CSN spokesman termed the refusal "a real provocation". He said, "We must demonstrate to the population that the government is dangerous for it."

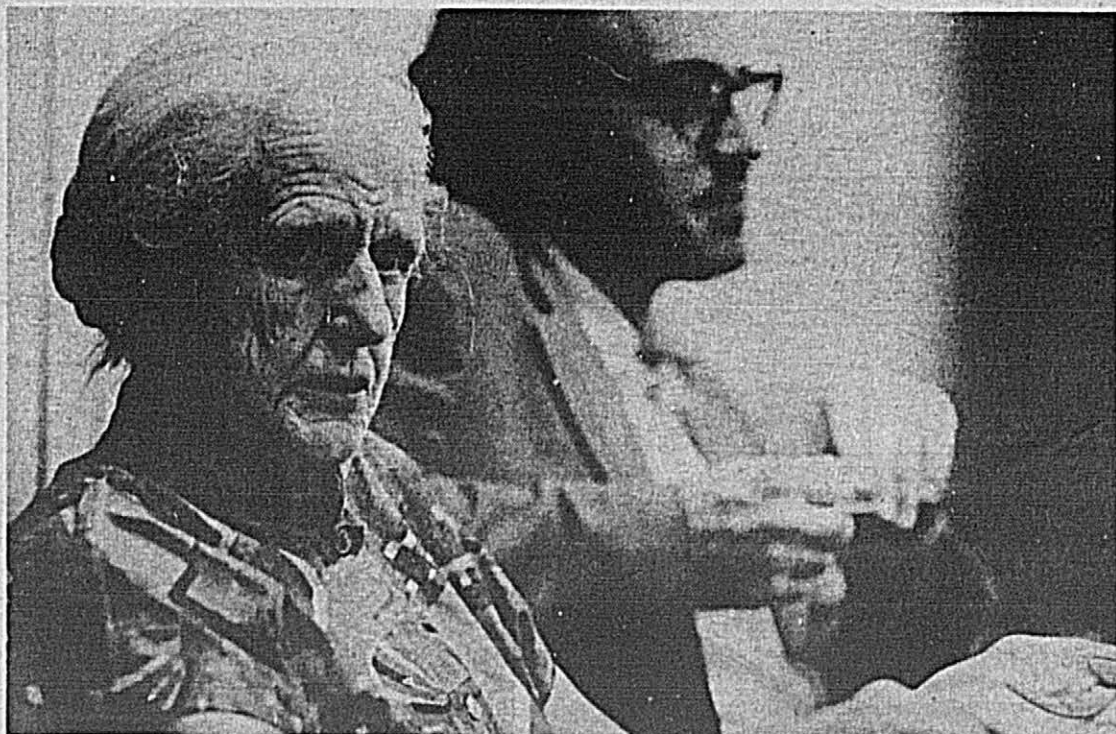
The CSN is trying to get its version of the dispute to as many Québécois as possible. Twenty-one action committees have been set up throughout the province to organize meetings and demonstrations in support of the workers.

The CSN does not intend to back any political party in its support of the Lapalme workers. It has however sponsored television spots opposing Trudeau's re-election bid, terming the Prime Minister an "enemy of the working class".

The most recent demonstration, held Saturday in the Gaspé, drew almost 150 people. A demonstration is being planned in Montreal to take place October 7 at 7 pm at Parc Viger. The park is located at the corner of Craig and Berri.

DAILY STAFF

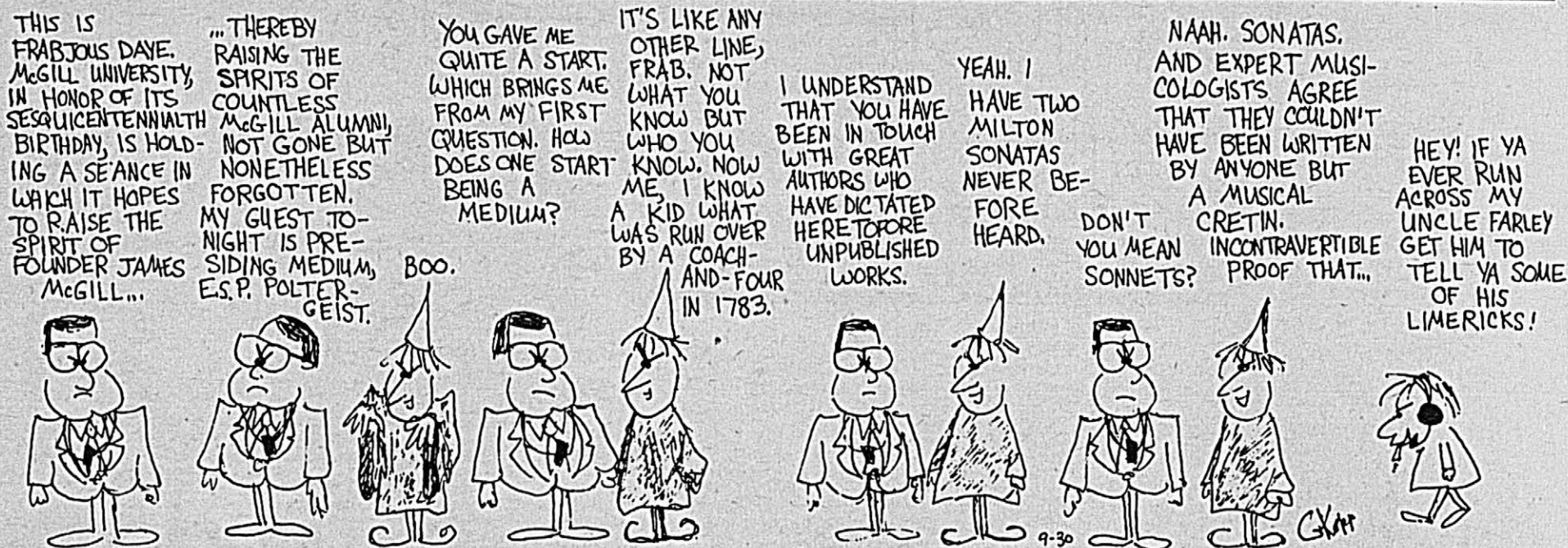
There will be a meeting of all Daily staffers today at 1 pm in the office. Please attend.



daily photo by jean-michel joffe

PROGRESSIVE ECONOMIST Joan Robinson yesterday gave a seminar based on her book "Economic Heresies". In the background is Tom Asimakopoulos, McGill professor of economics whose writings have earned him renown in the profession. Professor Robinson will be giving another seminar today from 3-5 pm in the Leacock Council Room.

LEAN AND HUNGRY/BY GEORGE KOPP



Phase 1: Opportunities for Youth 1971

Phase 2: Petition

Phase 3: Opportunities for Youth 1972

Phase 4: P2

Liberal Action Committee

Mini-Market

Ads received by noon appear the following day. Rates: 3 consecutive insertions — \$3.00 maximum 20 words. 15 cents per extra word.

FOR SALE

LAB COATS ON SALE now in room 129 McIntyre Building. Men's & ladies' sizes. Open 8:30 AM to 4:30 PM.

STEREO-FLEETWOOD, condition and price good, willing to bargain at low starting price of \$60. Call Claudia 737-3485 evenings.

DISSECTION KITS FOR SALE: in Stewart Biology Bldg. W 1/8. 5 piece set \$4.50, 9 piece set \$6.50, between 10:00 A.M. and 2:00 P.M.

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35 GALLON AQUARIUM fully equipped. Stand and fishes. Call Enrol 725-1905.

LARGE QUANTITY OF FURNITURE and household articles. Selection of men's and women's clothing. Good condition, low prices. Tsong-Kha-Pa College for Buddhist Learning. 844-9429.

2 LADY'S COATS: Camel hair size 14, smart tweed size 12. Lady's suit and dress fit 12 or 14. Pair knee-length all weather boots. Several pairs shoes 8 1/2. All excellent condition. Also book-shelves, small table, etc. Call 392-5100 (day) or 845-8091 (evening).

1968 BSA lightning zero time on rebuild, \$650 1959, AJS 31/CSR, 1500 miles on rebuild, \$550. Tony 866-4215 late.

TYPING

COMPLETE EFFICIENT typing service on manual typewriter — reasonable rates. Snowdon area — Call Mrs. Mendelsohn at 488-3548.

HOUSING

WANTED: girl to share with same furnished, leased, sunny apartment 5 mins. walk McGill own room 843-5619.

ONE SINGLE ROOM to rent, furnished with sink \$65 per month. Can eat with others for \$6 to \$8 a week. 3480 Cote des Neiges Apt. 16, 935-4154.

GIRL WANTED TO SHARE APT. with same, own room. Alwater area, call after 6, 932-7029.

LINGUIST AND MED. STUDENTS looking for 3rd to share 7 1/2-own room. Pine at Durocher, \$65 per month, 845-8714.

MISCELLANEOUS

THE ARAB STUDENTS' SOCIETY requests the pleasure of your company at the new Academic year reception. Friday, Oct. 1st, 7-8 P.M. L210 refreshment will be served.

PLACE YOUR FREE CLASSIFIED ads in new city-wide student bulletin to be issued every two weeks. First issue — Oct. 15. To submit ads: Call 392-3094 or Write: Media Mat (MSEA) 3434 McTavish.

LEARN FOLK, flamenco, or blues guitar with Richard Owen. Special student rates phone 484-1861.

ESTABLISHED AUTHOR offers exciting, creative writing lessons. Small groups, informal atmosphere. Aptitude test given. For further information call 482-7330 9 A.M. to noon.

ORIENTAL HOUSE: Chinese, Japanese, Korean, Groceries. Open everyday. 3478 Park Ave., between Milton & Sherbrooke. 845-7311.

TRUCK WITH DRIVER FOR HIRE, light hauling, moving. Very Reasonable, husband of McGill Student. Love, Vern 733-7015.

EXPERIENCED ELEKTROLYSIS technician will remove your unwanted hair permanently at low cost. Free demonstration treatment, days, evenings, Saturdays call 931-8531.

MOC: Climbing school and new members, weekend Oct. 2 & 3 at the House, Squaredancing Saturday night. Climbing school also Oct. 16 & 17.

LIBERTE, EGALITE, Alpha Delta Phi, rushing starts tonight. Muddy Waters, movies, nature/nurture tripping, more. Lunches par carole de Shawinigan. We want to discuss our fraternity with you over a smoke. 3483 Stanley St., 288-8574.

BEER - 3 FOR \$1.00 plus free music all night. Union Lounge 8 P.M. Friday Oct. 1. Everyone welcome. Adm. A mere 50c.

PHI KAPPA PI FRATERNITY, open house, with band, Saturday, Oct. 2, 3647 University St., Guys \$1, Girls-free, red door.

CLASSICAL GUITAR lessons for beginners, for details phone 484-1487.

TODAY

ELA GRAD SECTION: All English department graduate students: Meeting with staff to hassle over grad programme. Post Grad Centre, 4 pm.

SANDWICH THEATRE (Players' Club): Auditions for "Bea, Frank, Richie, and Joan", from "Lovers and Other Strangers"; production is set for late October. Sandwich Theatre, 3-6 pm.

WANTED

MATURE, serious skiers, ages 21-38 (singles, couples) to complete Eastern Townships ski group. 467-5501 evenings only.

PART TIME RECEPTIONIST wanted for administrative office. For appointment call: 845-7728.

MALE-FEMALE VOLUNTEERS wanted: to work in Little Burgundy in morning, afternoon and evening programmes. Contact Judy Brown 739-6900.

NEED A SCOUTMASTER to coordinate troop in St. Lawrence St. and Pine area. Call Ron 276-4421.

URGENTLY WANTED: temporary lodging for 2 house trained neutered cats — affectionate, \$10 weekly. Bricks available also. 288-3586 mornings. 684-6686 evenings.

VOLUNTEERS WILLING to help out in a girls recreational programme in Pointe St. Charles area. Call Ron 276-4421.

LOST

LD. etc. in plastic case near Redpath cafeteria. Call 748-9413 (Philip)

SCHOOL RING, gold crest. . . Kingston General Hospital. Please call 288-6014.

BLACK CAT (BELA) on McGill campus, reward. Contact Advertising Office in Student Union Bldg., Rm. B46.

RIDES

WANTED RIDE TO N.Y.C. or Phila. this week or next. Will share expenses and driving. Call Joanne 842-2073.

MASS RALLY TO U.S. BORDER

Buses will be leaving Loyola and Sir George Williams University on Friday at 10:00 am. The buses will stop five miles from the border at which time the demonstrators will then march the final distance to the border. Everyone will return to Montreal by bus Friday evening.

Imperialism will remain a fact of our lives until we act to oppose it.

BLOOD DRIVE: Art Committee meeting on Friday at 12 noon or 1 pm, whichever suitable. Rm. 26-27 in basement of Union. Everyone welcome.

COMMITTEE TO FIGHT UNEMPLOYMENT (Canadian Party of Labor): Forum on La Presse lock-out; organize to beat Power Corporation! Université de Québec Pavillon, Ste Marie, Rm. 3200, 12:30-2:30 pm.

ASSOCIATION OF JEWISH STUDIES STUDENTS: Short but important first meeting for anyone taking a Jewish Studies Course. Union 458, 6 pm.

SAVOY SOCIETY: Will those who tried out please check Savoy board in Union lobby.

NEWMAN CHAPLAINCY: La Montée St. Benoît, Oct. 2-3, call 288-1806 for further information. Departure Sat. 9 am, 3484 Peel. Cost \$11.00: includes food, overnight accommodation, transportation, songbook.

WEST INDIAN STUDENTS: Would you like to get together with fellow West Indians? Why not call Margaret — 849-6961, Claudette — 845-8928, Tony — 843-6027, Mike — 845-1315, anytime in afternoon.

ARMENIAN STUDENTS' CLUB: General meeting. Union 123, 1-2 pm.

UKRAINIAN CLUB: The meeting scheduled for tonight will take place next Tuesday, Oct. 5, in Rm. 327, at 7:30 pm.

SIGMA CHI FRATERNITY: Lunch served at 1 pm, 3458 Peel.

MCGILL PLAYERS' CLUB: "Theater of All Possibilities", one performance only of "McNeckle's Commune". Sandwich Theatre, 8:30 pm, admission \$1.50.

COMMUNITY MCGILL: Introduction of and application for this year's program; today: Point St. Charles, Tyndale House, Children's Hospital and others. Union 457-458, 1-2 pm.

MCGILL CHRISTIAN FELLOWSHIP: First in a series of three on the Gospels with Frank Patch; all are welcome. Union 458, 7:30 pm.

FREE FILMS: Pollution: Nader says Quebec is a polluter's haven. Is it your fault or a company's? "A Matter of Attitudes", "Paradise Lost". Prisons: filmed inside Kingston and St. Vincent de Paul. "La Rééducation Prison pour Femmes de Kingston", (v. fr.), "St. Vincent de Paul", (v. fr.). Moot Court Rm., Law Faculty, 3644 Peel, 2-4 pm.

MCGILL HUMOR CLUB: Free films: W. C. Fields, Taxi Boys. Leacock 219, 2 pm.

FRIENDS OF CHINA ASSOCIATION: Conference on "The Lessons of the Chinese Revolution in relation to National Liberation Struggles" plus film and photo exhibition. Dawson College, 7:30 pm.

HILLEL: Finjan (Israeli) Coffee-house. 3460 Stanley, 8:30 pm, 50c.

REDMEN BAND: Music and marching practice for homecoming game, 100% attendance vital. Currie Gym, 7 pm.

FACULTY OF MUSIC: Peel Street Stompers Ragtime. Redpath Library Terrace, 12:30 pm, free.

BLOOD DRIVE '71: All those interested in being clinic day chairmen, Blood Drive hostesses (Droplettes), please fill out applications this week. Union 464, 12-2 pm.

JEWISH FREE UNIVERSITY: Anyone interested in leading a course or seminar. Call 845-9171, 10 am - 4 pm.

Maharaja of INDIA

10% x-tra discount with this ad

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McGILL DAILY

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Editor: Tom Sorell
Advertising Manager: Victor Loewy

Opportunities for Youth

When Opportunities for Youth was little more than words on a press release and the spectacle of secretive students plotting for a piece of the action, it was suggested that a gross error had been committed by the government's public relations people, that the program's real name was Youth for Opportunism.

No-one took the suggestion seriously at the time, but since then a great number of people have had difficulty understanding OFY. One of these people must be Gerard Pelletier who himself just recently admitted that some of the grants were mistakes and who has conceded all along that money has been given to the wrong people.

In a speech he gave early in the summer Pelletier said that OFY had two purposes; first, to lessen the disparity in thinking between "youth and the rest of society" and second, to provide unconventional employment to complement conventional education. The government only wants to *help*; it wants to *communicate* with young people. There is no doubt, for instance, that Pelletier now knows how to use "groovy" and "far out" correctly in a sentence.

This may be the extent of the government's success in educational experiences. Many students have received OFY as a \$24.8 million opportunity to rob the government. It is therefore reasonable to assume that "rip-off" has also found its way into Secretary of State vernacular.

It is nevertheless true that many students took the program seriously. A considerable number trotted out all the Ralph Nader-approved popular-causes for the government's approval and many were successful in obtaining grants. More than a third of the projects ap-

proved had to do with pollution, consumer and 'social services' or surveys dealing with these. These are the projects that are supposed to have made the program worthwhile.

Trudeau, for instance, kicked off the program this way: "We are saying, in effect, to the youth of Canada that we are impressed by their desire to fight pollution, that we believe they are well-motivated in their concern for the disadvantaged, that we have confidence in their value-system. We are also saying that we intend to challenge them and see if they have the stamina and self-discipline to follow through on their criticism and advice."

The people at the Secretary of State like to think of themselves as experimenters. But they are not brash. The gray office-dwellers at 130 Slater Street have taken up the New Frontier banner, but they double-checked the inter-office memorandum to make sure it was all right. They were disturbed, then, when the *Toronto Globe and Mail* and many other newspapers thought it wasn't. In fact, the senior administrators at the Secretary of State took press criticism very seriously indeed, calling frequent meetings throughout June and July to find out why the program wasn't getting it together.

The press found a great deal to criticize: bureaucratic chaos, confusion about funding and faulty decision-making in the approval of grants. Several newspapers found it convenient to attack the program and Canadian youth at the same time. The revelation early in the summer concerning marijuana at a B. C. commune was taken to be indicative both of the government's muddled think-

ing and the decadence of youth.

The Secretary of State had trouble making decisions and so at least two provincial governments made a couple on its behalf. In one case a grant approved for the Vancouver underground paper, *Georgia Straight*, was revoked after nudging from the B.C. government. A similar grant to a muck-raking publication, the *Prairie Fire*, was also revoked.

But the criticism has been weakest where it has been most specific. The government has no answer to unemployed workers who without much difficulty argued soundly that OFY was beside the point, that it was totally misdirected as a solution to unemployment.

Pelletier has reacted to the criticism with the contagious Trudeau shrug and he admits, in the concerned manner of a liberal, that unemployment is definitely a problem.

The OFY people themselves have come out of their chaos with a bogus innocence that warms the groin. They have survived very nicely as whipping boys and they are wondering what all the fuss is about. The program-is-new-so there-are-bound-to-be-problems rejoinder has so far been an adequate foil to criticism and there are indications that it has been a most successful tactic.

An article in the American publication *Look Magazine* for instance, was received very well by the people at 130 Slater. The piece exults: "a good many students are happily working for the first time within a system they doubted had elbow room for the likes of them." And later on: "The idea was to get kids . . . off the street and out of everybody's hair without slopping over into the job market." U.S. approbation must have just

topped off the summer at OFY.

Pelletier becomes uncomfortable when he is asked about the goals of certain survey projects at OFY. One such study in Montreal involved a group of students who were collecting information on residents of St-Jacques, a working class district of Montreal. In a July interview Pelletier was asked why students were being allowed and paid to disturb people with personal questions for statistics purposes. Pelletier brushed off the question, explaining that it was the students' idea and not the government's. "If the kids are happy with what they're doing, that's all that's necessary."

Even within its own stated terms of reference, OFY fails to provide goals with any clear perspective. As a source of summer jobs it is inadequate. It offers no solution to university graduates who are without jobs. Nor does it even allow for the criticism the government says it wants. All of the projects were screened for their political aspect and were rejected if, as the government so precisely says, they were "partisan". Surely the notion of apolitical criticism of the government must strike even Gérard Pelletier as something of a contradiction.

In the light of all this it is heartening that McGill's very own Liberal Action Committee wants to have another go at it next summer. If the cause-effect relation between petition and government action is not a little obscure, it should be admitted that their four-point program is at least systematic. Everyone, after all, is entitled to his own opinion.

Tom Sorell

LETTERS

But can it change human Nature?

Sir;

One of the most controversial programs to come from the federal government has been "Opportunities for Youth." We believe that the *Daily* has ignored the problems of students looking for summer jobs, as well as the success of the OFY program this past summer.

The purpose of the program was to create summer jobs for students and unemployed young people while at the same time allowing them to use their creative ingenuity by submitting their own ideas for projects to work on. From all across Can-

ada, youth responded as never before. More than 11,000 imaginative projects were submitted before the deadline, over 4,200 from Quebec.

This indicated that despite high unemployment and an unsteady political climate, Quebec's young people still had a strong desire to improve their society through constructive action. The recognition of this desire came in the way of Quebec receiving the largest amount of money, over \$9,000,000, around 38% of the national total.

For the most part the projects were successful, but there were also some basic faults. Some young people who didn't need government aid received

federal money, while many especially worthwhile projects did not get accepted. But all things considered, we must remember that this was a new approach, and really just an initial test. And it did provide many thousands of summer jobs, not to mention the lasting benefits to the different communities. When all the factors are put on a scale, the good points far outweigh the bad ones.

It is for this reason that a movement spearheaded by the McGill Liberal Action Committee is now underway to secure the continuation of "Opportunities for Youth" beyond the official closing date of September 30, into the winter and next summer. A petition is circu-

lating on every campus asking the Secretary of State to announce its continuation by November 1st. It also includes support for implementing the P-2 program of the Youth Committee Report, encouraging older citizens to participate in the restructuring of society, as it is understood that young people do not have a monopoly on imagination.

At McGill, this petition will be making the rounds during the next week. When you see it — sign it; it's in your interest. Then, think up some projects, because next time around you may get your chance.

Donna Balkan BAE2 et al

Parties, priests and patronage 1837-1900

The Canadiens and Irish immigrants who revolted against the British colonial overlords in 1837 had little chance of success. They were unprepared and inadequately equipped, and the military knew it. The British had moved to arrest the Patriote leaders at this particular time in order to provoke active resistance which could be crushed easily. The leadership was divided. Papineau urged non-violence to the very last and was pushed aside by the militants—the Nelson brothers, Chénier and Girod. The "moderate" patriote leaders in Quebec City, Neilson and Parent, refused to participate in the uprising, and their followers, sustained by the profitable timber trade at a time when the rest of Lower Canada was in the grip of a depression, also gave no help to the rebels. Meanwhile, in Upper Canada, Mackenzie's rebellion was easily crushed, and the colonial government was free to concentrate all its forces on the Canadiens. The Patriotes won an initial surprise victory over the British at St-Denis, but they failed to follow it up with a march on Montreal. Instead they bottled themselves up in defensive positions which were soon overcome.

The British regulars under Colborne, along with the Tory volunteers from Montreal, ravaged the countryside, especially in the Saguenay and Lake of Two Mountains districts. The volunteers were allowed to put their racist anti-French feelings into action by burning villages, farms and churches. The Battle of St-Eustache ended effective patriote resistance—Girod committed suicide and Chénier was killed while trying to escape from a burning church.

In 1838 patriote refugees in the United States tried to cross into Canada and start a guerrilla war, but the American government collaborated with the British to deprive them of bases. New England capitalists and Southern slaveowners had a vested interest in avoiding poor relations with Britain at that time.

To "set an example" Colborne hanged 12 of the captured Patriotes and deported 58 to penal colonies in Australia. Out of the 108 who were court-martialled, 66 were farmers. Ordinary Canadiens formed the majority of the fighting Patriotes and bore the brunt of the repression. The leaders like Papineau, from the bourgeois and seigneurial elite, escaped to the United States and returned several years later to resume their privileged positions in society.

Colborne succeeded in arousing the lasting hatred of the Canadiens. When he acquired the title of Lord Seaton a few years later, they seized the opportunity to refer to him as "Lord Satan."

His tactics, however, went against the grain of British Liberalism. Hoping for a lasting and peaceful solution to the problems of the Canadas, the Liberals dispatched their ace trouble-shooter, Lord Durham, known to his Tory enemies as "Radical Jack." Durham had a reputation as an advocate of self-determini-

Monsieur le Rédacteur,

Si les ouvriers de Québec ont élevé la voix à la dernière élection, ce n'était pas par le désir de supplanter les classes instruites; mais par le motif qu'ils ont des droits à exercer comme elles. D'ailleurs, personne ne dira qu'il soit plus ridicule chez la classe industrielle qu'il ne l'est chez la branche mercantile de vouloir se faire représenter dans la législature. J'espère encore que le marteau et la truelle figureront dans les occasions publiques comme on les a vus hier sur le couronnement du superbe pain-béni offert par M. Joseph Larose dans l'église paroissiale de cette ville.

UN OUVRIER.

Letter to Le Canadien 1848



Papineau



Mackenzie



Durham



Elgin

nation for the oppressed nationalities of Europe. He proved unwilling, however, to accord the same adulation to French Canadians as he had to Greeks and Norwegians. To Durham the Canadians were a people without a history and without a culture. The English colonists, on the other hand, were deserving of responsible government.

To resolve the problem of "two nations warring in the bosom of a single state" he decided upon a policy of assimilation, to be accomplished through the union of the two Canadas. English would be the only official language. In a united legislature Upper Canadians would combine with the English minority of Lower Canada to swamp the Canadiens. The Tories and the self-styled loyalists were perfectly willing to listen to this scheme; union had been their goal in 1810 and in 1822. As an extra attraction, Lower

Lafontaine, had survived the post-Rebellion purges. They were men of conservative leanings, who had objected to the use of force by their militant comrades in 1837, and who were committed to capitalism and colonial status. Responsible government was their platform—when they achieved it they retired from active politics.

Baldwin and Lafontaine represented the growing industrial capitalist class rather than the old mercantile capitalists. They wanted an efficient government which would further their class interests, and they saw responsible government as a means to obtain domestic political control of the home market and natural resources. Colonial administrators like Sydenham, the first governor of Canada after Durham's visit, also believed in "good government" but did not cater to the Reformers' "democratic" demand for responsible government. In theory, responsible government meant that the executive was chosen from and responsible to the majority party in an elected legislature. (This, at least, is the definition which everyone is taught in high school.) However, to the Reformers it also meant that only their supporters, as supporters of the majority party, should be permitted to hold appointive government office. Patronage would be dispensed in the name of "responsibility to the people."

Responsible government was not the only aim of the Reformers, despite the near-obsession of Baldwin and Lafontaine. The Reformers also campaigned for the secular education and for the abolition of the seigneurial system. The Rouges of Lower Canada, who derived many of their liberal-democratic ideas from the patriotes of 1837, wanted to put an end to archaic feudal structures. The Rouges were the radical wing of the Reformers—but their attempt to promote the survival of the Canadiens within a democratic context would soon be crushed. The reactionary Catholic clergy, the conservative (or Bleu) Canadian politicians, and Canadian capitalist interests were all to play a part in the destruction of the Rouges.

But the Rouge demand for the abolition of the seigneurial system had the wholehearted support of the English-speaking capitalists, many of whom were seigneurs. They wanted to be freed from the irritating restrictions which the legal system of the ancien régime placed on land speculation. In 1854 the last elements of the seigneurial system were legislated out of existence, and the seigneurs were compensated to the tune of 10-million pounds for giving up their claim to feudal dues. (They retained the land, of course.) Many of the Canadian seigneurs, however, were traditionalists and opposed the bill. Even Papineau, who had been allowed to return from exile in the U. S., was torn between his class interests as a landed aristocrat and his reformist inclinations. He finally settled for the first, denouncing the government for tampering with "the sacred rights of property."

Because of the existence of the Reform parties and because of the determination of the Canadiens, the Act of Union failed to achieve its purpose. Until 1864 the Canadiens acted as a single political bloc, without whose cooperation the government could not function. Invariably they supported the Reformers, although often the coalition was uneasy. Double majority became an unwritten rule of government by the 1850's; any bill

This article is the second installment of a four-part series on Quebec's political development from the Conquest to the present day. The piece examines the growth of political movements in 19th century Quebec. The historical series, prepared by a team of Daily writers and researchers this summer is part of a fifteen article survey on Quebec's social development planned by the new McGill Daily Quebec Service.

Canada's large budget surplus could be taken over to pay off the British government's 6-million pound debt to the London banks, incurred through over-subsidization of domestic canal construction contractors! But responsible government was unthinkable either to the Tories or to the British government; it was "incompatible" with Canada's colonial status.

Durham had exceeded his authority by exiling some of the Reformers to Bermuda instead of executing them. His enemies used this lapse as an excuse to engineer his recall. In 1841 the Union of the two Canadas was imposed. But responsible government had to wait for a complete reorientation of British colonial policy—the repeal of the Corn Laws in 1846.

In both Upper and Lower Canada a number of moderate Reformers, led by Robert Baldwin and Louis-Hippolyte

affecting Lower Canada required the approval of the Lower Canadian representatives.

The Canadiens also fought back culturally. François-Xavier Garneau wrote a history of Canada to refute Durham's charge that the Canadiens had none. Octave Crémazie wrote poetry eulogizing the Patriotes, and Antoine Gerin-Lajoie wrote the first distinctively Canadian novels, calling for a return to the rural lifestyle of the habitant and denouncing capitalistic greed and worldliness.

Meanwhile, on the other side of the ocean, political and economic changes were tracing the pattern for the profitable exploitation of Canada and its inhabitants. In 1846 the British government ended mercantilism as official Imperial economic policy and instituted free trade. A closely controlled empire was no longer necessary, and the colonies could be permitted to manage their own domestic affairs. That is: responsible government was no longer taboo. Free trade had disastrous economic consequences for the Tory mercantile elite in Canada, since it ended their protected position as exporters. In 1849 some of the leading "loyalist" reactionaries, among them the Molsons of Montreal, signed a manifesto calling for annexation to the United States, a demand which had hitherto been a rallying cry of the left wing of the Rouges!

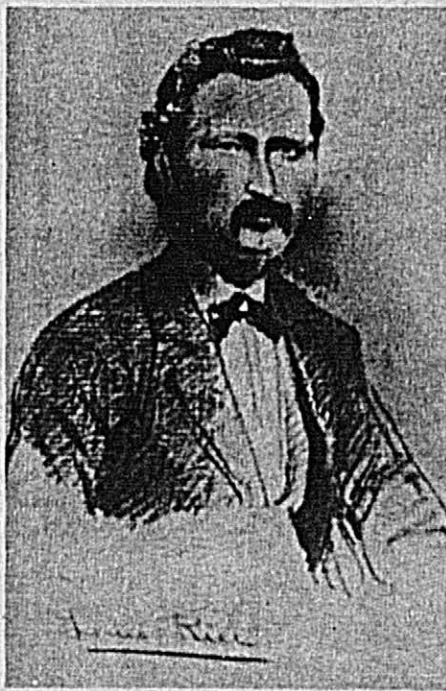
The Legislative Assembly, in which the Reformers held the majority, infuriated the Tories even more by passing the Rebellion Losses Bill, which aimed at compensating people who had suffered property losses during the Rebellion. (Most of the damage, of course, had been inflicted by government troops, especially in Lower Canada.) The Governor, Lord Elgin, signed the bill in order to show that the executive was now responsible to the majority in the legislature. An irate Tory mob retaliated by stoning his carriage and razing the Montreal Parliament buildings.

After this initial outpouring of rage, however, most of the capitalist elite began to look for new ways to make money. They turned to industry and railway construction, relying on a pool of cheap labour — Irish immigrants and Canadiens. Instead of annexation to the U.S. the elite settled for reciprocity, obtained by treaty in 1854. Canadian forests, under this agreement, were exploited by American timber barons, who paid practically nothing for the privilege.

For the rest of the 1850's railways were the basis of politics in Canada, and Cabinets and railway boards of directors became almost one and the same. As the need for investment capital increased, Americans moved into the upper echelons of management, while Canadians became their junior partners. A few conservative "bleus" like George-Etienne Cartier served as corporation lawyers and as token Canadiens for the Tory railway-builders in Canada East. Those who were thus "privileged" would later betray Quebec by bringing it into Confederation against its will.

Government and capital often worked hand in hand to "maintain order." This usually meant sending in troops to break strikes which was no isolated phenomenon in the nineteenth century. It was truly an age warmed by the sun of free enterprise.

Two main pressures brought about Confederation. One was the desire of the



Riel

capitalists to expand the home market by creating a unified state. The other was British imperial policy, which favored unification for protection against American expansionism. Relations with the United States had cooled considerably during the Civil War, when Britain had covertly supported the South. Demagogues and newspaper publishers in the U.S. were calling for the annexation of Canada as "compensation" for Northern losses, and Fenians, Irish terrorists who had the sympathy of Irish-Americans, were raiding Canada from bases across the border.

Many elements in Canada, including some of the Rouges, had called for the abrogation of the Act of Union and the federation or confederation of Quebec and Ontario. The Rouges hoped for an arrangement in which Quebec would be semi-autonomous, with control over its own internal affairs. The scheme of the capitalists and railway barons was somewhat different, however. They wanted to dominate the economies of the Maritimes and the West and to create a strong federal union within which the "rights" of property would be respected. The people of the Maritimes objected to the colonialist plans of the Montreal and Toronto businessmen; they wanted Maritime union at the very most. The people of Manitoba, especially the Métis, did not want to be taken over by Ontario. The Maritimes voted solidly against Confederation, and the West revolted under Riel, but the supporters of Confederation had the power and the backing of the British government.

The Québécois were given no chance to express their opinion on the matter. In 1864 the Rouges, who had held the balance of power in all previous legislatures, were finally excluded from that position. The Ontario Tories, led by John A. Macdonald, the Grits, led by Macdonald's arch-rival, George Brown who despised Canadiens and the Bleus, led by George-Etienne Cartier, succeeded in reconciling their differences and formed the Great Coalition. All the rival capitalist interests were now united, and all were determined to obtain Confederation. The Rouges objected strongly to the scheme: it gave too little consideration to the national rights of the Canadiens and too much to the "rights" of property. But the Rouges were not invited to the closed-door conferences at which the British North America Act was framed. Instead of the confederation of two provinces which the Rouges had wanted, there was a federation of four in 1867. By 1905 there were nine, eight of them English. The

Canadiens had been reduced to the position of a minority. But the Church in 1867, as usual, took a conservative stance: The BNA Act was law, and could not be opposed.

Federal immigration policies favoured immigrants who were either English or who could be assimilated into English culture. After Riel's second uprising was crushed in 1885, the French-speaking Métis were swamped in a wave of American and European immigrants. In 1885 the Canadiens realized that they had lost the West, and that the only place in which their nationality could be preserved was Quebec; for the first time they began to look upon themselves as Québécois.

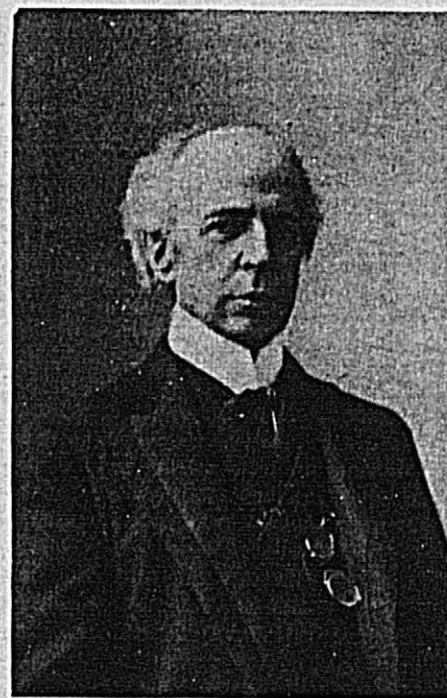
Meanwhile, in Manitoba, New Brunswick, Alberta and Saskatchewan, and finally Ontario, Canadiens were deprived of their right to be educated in their native tongue. Constitutional guarantees were swept away by the English majority while the federal government stood by, theoretically powerless to intervene. One wonders if the government would have hidden its fangs had the rights of the English minority in Quebec been similarly threatened.

Quebec political leaders became more than mere machine politicians; they became national symbols, protecting the interests of the Québécois against the English. Most of them eventually sold out, or found themselves powerless to do anything which might irritate the Anglos. At first these politicians, especially Cartier and Joseph Cauchon, his successor as the "leader" of Quebec, looked upon Quebec politics as the minor leagues. Cauchon abandoned the premiership of Quebec in the early 1870's as soon as he saw the chance of a high cabinet post in Ottawa. But in 1885 this attitude changed drastically. The Québécois repudiated their elected representatives in Ottawa, who had acquiesced to the hanging of Louis Riel, the Catholic Métis leader. Two new leaders emerged — Honoré Mercier, who founded the new Parti National and swept to power in Quebec on a wave of nationalist sentiment, and Wilfred Laurier, who became Prime Minister of Canada in 1896. Mercier spent much of his term of office touring Europe "looking for investors" and preening himself in the eye of the public. Many contemporary Quebec politicians have followed in his footsteps. But Mercier lost power after certain "financial irregularities" in his administration were uncovered.

Laurier made a name for himself in Quebec with his defence of Riel in Parliament and with an emotional speech at a pro-Riel rally in which he said: "Had I been on the banks of the Saskatchewan, I too would have shouldered a rifle." As leader of the Liberal Party and then as Prime Minister, however, he became a staunch advocate



Brown



Laurier

of close ties with Britain and of compromise whenever possible. Laurier, evidently, was a true "liberal." But as Quebec's "leader" in Ottawa, he maintained wide popular support, though he had to share the spotlight with provincial politicians like Lomer Gouin and nationalist idols like Henri Bourassa. In 1911 a misbegotten coalition of Canadian nationalists and Tories engineered his defeat.

In the 1870's "liberal" had become a dirty word to good Quebec Catholics, and three successive Papal emissaries were needed to restore the Liberal Party to respectability. Priests intervened actively in elections, to the extent of ordering women to withhold the pleasures of the flesh from husbands who voted Liberal. Even after the Vatican had made it quite clear that the clergy were not to abuse their privileged position in this way, reactionary priests would warn their congregations from the pulpit: "Remember that hell is 'rouge' and heaven is 'bleu'." But the ability of the Church to win elections for the Conservative Party with these tactics ended in 1896, when Quebec voters gave Laurier who was highly popular (and most important, Canadian) a landslide victory.

But the Church retained enormous influence in Quebec politics; nothing could be done without its cooperation. In 1874 it gained a stranglehold on the education of the Québécois when Premier Boucher de Boucherville, an extreme ultramontane, abolished the Ministry of Education and divided schools into Catholic and Protestant jurisdictions. In 1897 a Liberal Premier, F. X. Marchand, tried to re-establish the Ministry, mainly in order to set up technical schools to train Québécois for industry. The bill passed three readings in the Legislative Assembly and two in the Legislative Council, while ultramontanes frantically sent telegrams and delegations to Rome. A very mild cable from the Pope asking for a reconsideration of the legislation was enough to kill the bill permanently. And the education of the Québécois remained in the hands of the clergy until after the Quiet Revolution.

Universities face higher riot costs

How do the insurance companies justify this rate increase? By citing examples:

■ The growing record of student unrest at the University of British Columbia, Simon Fraser, University of Windsor, Waterloo Lutheran, McGill, and Sir George Williams.

■ Bomb damage at McGill, Loyola, and St. Francis Xavier recently.

■ Radical and inflammatory speeches made on university campuses (operating on the theory that all serious student demonstrations can be directly related to the actions of one rabble rouser).

University insurance buyers, the ones being penalized under the new system, feel that the insurance companies are overreacting to a few isolated incidents and are being overly influenced by recent insurance policies adopted by American university insurers.

Two years ago, however, those same university administrations reacted to the Sir George incident and other relatively minor radical actions to attempt to impose on students highly restrictive disciplinary policies (notably at the University of Saskatchewan and in Ontario by the Committee of Presidents of Universities of Ontario). Those policies were designed with heavy reliance on similar documents drawn by American administrators after heavy damage and major demonstrations on many American campuses.

Universities have always been easy marks for the insurance shark, and Canadian universities in particular were good investments for insurers until February, 1969, when militant students and Montreal police, while using Sir George Williams University computer building as a battle ground, turned the computer complex into a two million dollar heap of scrap metal.

The insurance industry took this loss with very ill grace and set about scheming ways to retain the healthy capital flow from the universities' coffers to its own.

This fall the men at the drawing board found the answer: high riot premiums and high deductibles.

While the long term effects of this move by the CUA cannot yet be estimated, university officials feel the insurance industry is tackling the 'vandalism' problem ass-backwardly. The university people are now suggesting, rather belatedly, a counter-proposal.

A spokesman for Marsh and McLennan Ltd. of Toronto, a leading broker of university insurance, says that the universities and the insurance agencies should have held meetings to discuss better campus security arrangements, more realistic deduction provisions, and other improvements on the risk involved.

But it's too late, since the CUA has already unilaterally made their decision and are in a position to stick to their guns because they are the insurers with the most experience on Canadian campuses. CUA will negotiate deductibles, however, but only with universities with huge insurance budgets and a long peaceful history.

Many universities are now deciding to insure with non-CUA companies, or to take a combination of CUA and non-CUA policies. But they still feel that it is their duty to strengthen their own campus security and should not be penalized if their own situation does not warrant higher premiums.

In other words, university administrations are finding it easier to switch insurance companies than to squash student discontent down to a level that the CUA finds acceptable and profitable.

Union pickets Murray Hill

MONTREAL (CUP) - Murray Hill, the limousine service that has a talent for getting on the wrong side of the Montreal taximen has done it again.

A newly-formed Taxi Drivers Union, Local 48 of Montreal has boycotted all cab service to Montreal's Queen Elizabeth Hotel because it charged the limousine service has an unfair advantage over other taxi drivers.

"They don't have to pay for taxi plates, they don't have to buy a meter, they don't have to get a pocket number and they don't have to get a dome light and yet they act as taxis," said Local President Rene Boutin on Tuesday night, (Sept. 28).

For the first two days of this week picketing drivers from the union marched in front of the hotel between 10:00 am and 4:00 pm.

"We apply for permits and yet they can pick up fares without them", said one of the picketers at the Queen E. on Tuesday.

The union wants the Murray Hill Limousine service discontinued. It also wants the company to cut out frequent runs from the major hotels to the airport and instead have the Murray Hill Bus service restricted to service from a downtown hotel terminal.

Boutin said the new union, a full-fledged affiliate of the International Teamsters Union, has only been organized for a short time but has already attracted up to 300 drivers. He said its aim is to give the taxi drivers a better voice.

"We don't have much money yet but the government won't deal with pressure groups and drivers need a real union," he said.

So far the Confederation of National Trade Unions, one of Quebec's largest union organizations which recently came out in favor of steps to make French the working language of the Montreal school board, has not taken a stand on the matter of the taxi driver.

Toffler . . .

Continued from page 1

"future", there is also an increase in the amount of information that individuals are expected to absorb. Newspaper, radio, television and other media bombard people with words. Advertisements assault their senses.

"If the environment is overloaded with novelty, it can produce the equivalent of anxiety neurotics — people whose systems are continually flooded with adrenaline, whose hearts thump, whose hands go cold. And prolonged stress produces illness."

But Toffler has a "solution": "By asking ourselves if we are living too fast, we can attempt, quite consciously to assess — and change — our pace of life."

In order to deal with the technological problems of the future, "We desperately need a worldwide movement for responsible technology."

"The automobile, for instance, is widely believed to have changed the shape of our cities, shifted home ownership and retail-trade patterns, altered sexual customs and loosened family ties."

But, "None of this is to suggest that change can or should be stopped. The problem is not to suppress change, but to manage it."

How?
"A broken engagement probably should not be too closely followed by a job transfer. The recent widow should not, perhaps, rush to sell her house."

Toffler has served as consultant to the Institute for the Future, the American Telephone and Telegraph Company and the Rockefeller Brothers Fund. He is a former editor of Fortune magazine. A former visiting professor at Cornell University, he is at the moment a visiting scholar at the Russel Sage Foundation.

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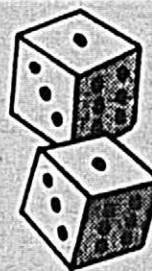
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